2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

562 a daughter and no son she has the right to remain a hundred days
592 in the house. Then if the heirs order her to leave she must go, but her
[583] daughter remains as part of the heir's household, and he has the right to choose her husband and dispose of her. In practice the widow may
587 remain in the house as "levirate wife" of one of her brothers-in-law, and very commonly does so among the Dukagini. In Maltsia e Madhe the practice is obsolete.

589 If the widow has had a son who has predeceased his father, she
562 has more consideration. If the house is a small one, she may live in it if capable of carrying on. If a large one, she may live as a member of the heir's household so long as she is unmarried. If she elects to return
[593] to her father, the heir, or heirs, must supply her regularly with wool for spinning, bread, cheese, and other necessaries so long as she remains unmarried.

421 A married daughter has no right to anything whatever of her father's property; she no longer belongs to his "house."

TRIBAL BUSINESS

623 Business relating to the whole tribe requires a very large council. In a large tribe the council may be about a hundred. It includes the heads of houses, the heads of mehalas, the bariaktar, and twelve specially chosen elders famed for their intelligence. Such a council, for example, was needed to decide if each tribe would accept the Turkish Constitution in 1908; to decide if a tribe would revolt or aid another that has revolted; what side it would take in war, and so forth. Smaller councils dealt with pasture lands; how many beasts each house might pasture upon the common lands; the date at which pasturing might begin.

421 The rights of wood-cutting, too, were thus regulated. Certain groups
311 had rights in certain woods. Unluckily no one ever thought of replanting. Great harm has been done by deciding to burn a forest in the
[134] hope of obtaining pasture land; only too often the result being that the winter rain carried away the soil and left bare rock. The water
312 supply is also controlled by council, especially in those districts where an ingenious system of channels carries water great distances and takes it across valleys on rude aqueducts made of hollowed tree-stems.
689 In time of scarcity the number of hours per week in which a man may turn the water into his fields is jealously regulated. Purposely defiling wells and springs was punishable.

671 Not only all the above laws are ascribed to Lek, but many rules intended to keep the peace. For example, that men marching abreast must keep the length of a gun-barrel apart, lest in turning hastily it

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

Birth, Marriage, and Death

Among the Dukagini I met several virgins, but all wore women's dress. As a rule, in all districts, the sworn virgin became servant to one of the priests, and often joined the Third Order of St. Francis. Some became nuns or worked in one of the Scutari nunneries.

In the Maltsia e Madhe, in the case of a man with several daughters and no son, by his wish one could swear virginity and act as his son. He could bequeath to her his house and land for her lifetime, after which it reverted to the nearest male heir. Such a virgin had the right to sell her younger sisters. Such an one, aged about forty, I met in the Hoti tribe (Plate VIII).

In the Dukagini tribes, where the virgins do not wear men's dress, they cannot inherit and live on and work the land during their lifetime as in Maltsia e Madhe. The land goes to the next male heir, and he must pay the virgin yearly 300 okes of maize, 18 of rakija, and 30 of wine, and she can enforce payment by appeal to the Council of Elders.

One case only did I hear of a virgin breaking her vow. She had been for years servant to the priest of Baitza, and was accounted holy. On his death she was forty, and shocked the country-side by eloping with a Gusinje Moslem. No one dared follow to take vengeance in such a dangerous district, but it was piously hoped that she would pay the price of her crime in hell.

On the way from Berisha to Apripa we passed a huge rock. A virgin so holy that she was almost a saint, had vowed to carry it to the church at Berisha. She carried it safely a long way. Then in the forest she heard a shepherd fluting, and looked at him and admired him. Straightway she forgot the heavenly things on which she had fixed her mind; she dropped the rock, and when she tried to pick it up again found she had lost her miraculous strength. And there the rock stands.

In spite of many inquiries, I failed to hear of a case of a young man refusing to marry his betrothed bride. People were surprised I should ask and always replied: "But why should he? God has made all women alike." On the other hand, I met some cases of blind fury ending in blood-feud where a father had broken faith and sold his betrothed daughter to someone else. I argued with one man who was "in blood" that it was stupid to want to marry a girl he had never seen and who did not want him—people in other lands would laugh at him. He furiously replied that the girl had been paid for years ago by his father; the return of the bride-price made no difference; she was their property, and he would get her if he had to shoot her husband to do so. His honour and that of his whole house had been blackened. If people in other lands laughed at him it only showed they had no honour.

I asked often why the young men did not choose for themselves,

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

583 work to do again. No one thought it unreasonable, and the wedding was postponed till she had finished. I created great horror by saying it would be better to find another man to fit the already made garments.

All the gifts exchanged are keenly scrutinized, and the respective families argue as to whether they have been properly treated.

582 *Forbidden Degrees.*—Among the Catholics, of course, the usual laws have to be observed. But the people maintain far more rigid ones of their own. As we have shown in the chapter on tribes, no couple tracing origin from the same male ancestor, no matter how remote, is marriageable in North Albania, whether they be Christian or Moslem. Neither are those related by "hair-cutting" or by "sworn brotherhood" marriageable.

Priests cannot refuse to marry such if there be no other impediment, but I was assured it was very rarely they were asked to do so. Though I made many inquiries, I heard of but one case of a priest being asked to marry a couple with a remote common ancestor. Being an Albanian 684 tribesman, he thought it very repulsive, but as the pair had cohabited, he 183 consented; nor by Church law could he have refused. The bridegroom was shot soon afterwards by the outraged relatives.

3. The Levirate

● 587 On one point the tribesman came into severe collision with the 688 Church. He considered it his bounden duty to marry the widow, not only of his brother, but of any male of the house, except his father. In Maltsia e Madhe this custom had died out, and blood-feud arose [628] between Hoti and Kastrati because a case had occurred, and the Hoti considered their honour blackened. But among the Catholic Dukagini the custom, in spite of most strenuous efforts of the Church, was still common. Among the Moslem tribes and among the Moslems of Scutari I was assured it was almost universal.

[577] From the tribesman's point of view the position was this: A widow left with young children must remain in the family house and rear them. If they are daughters, she can be returned to her own people when they are old enough not to need her. If there is a son, she has the right to live in the house permanently, but she cannot marry outside the house, as no strange man can be brought into it. It would be cruel to condemn a young woman to celibacy; it would not be honourable. Therefore, even though her brothers-in-law were already married by the rites of the Church, one or other of them must take her as wife. The priest in vain called it concubinage. The man said she was his legal wife and his legal wife agreed with the arrangement.

Sometimes the brother-in-law was unmarried, but this did not help matters, such marriages being prohibited by the Church. To stop the practice it was usual to excommunicate not only the couple but the whole "house" which permitted it, until the "levirate wife" was dismissed. I visited, at Apripa Gurit, a house of eighteen people thus under the ban. The son, a fine young fellow, had taken his elder brother's young widow to wife one month after her husband's death: this by tribe rule is the correct time. She had been married a very short time to her first husband and had not yet borne a child. The whole household was very uneasy about the excommunication, and offered the priest in my presence first thirty and then fifty guldens and pictures and candles for the church. But they stubbornly refused to put a stop to the "levirate marriage"; it would not be honourable. The young man himself was very certain of this. It was a duty he owed to his brother, and, no matter what the consequences, he would do it. He said they had found a girl, and arranged that he should marry her in a year's time. Till then he must cohabit with his sister-in-law. This he assured me very earnestly. 587 688

At Thethi Shala I found a case of a man who had thus taken his uncle's widow and his brother's widow. He then proposed taking a legitimate wife as well and had paid most of the purchase money. Only then did the bride's parents learn of the two other "wives." They said he should not have their daughter till the other two were dismissed. He replied she was paid for, and was his property and threatened vengeance. 587 578 684

The parents appealed to the padre, who sheltered them and the girl at the church-house, and succeeded in arranging a marriage for her with a man at a safe distance. The parents returned the first purchase money. "The aunt and sister-in-law" arrangement continued. The padre at Thethi had routed out all polygamous arrangements in his parish but two. 595

He said that the people had a deep-rooted belief that it was right thus to take as wife the widow of uncle, cousin, or brother if she continued to live in the communal house. If this was not permitted she must be sent home to her people. They could see no alternative, and pleaded: "It is our old custom. Do not interfere with it." 587 577

In the wild and distant tribes of Nikaj, Toplana, and Berisha the custom was extremely common among the Christians. Thus at Nikaj, out of three hundred houses about fifty had sister-in-law concubinage, and other houses similarly kept aunts, so a large proportion of the children were illegitimate in the eyes of the Church, but not of the people. The legitimate wives were very apt to bolt with another man, and there was much blood-feud. In Berisha I was told that the sister-in- 587

587 law was taken to wife more often than not. To remonstrances the reply was, "She belongs to us," and it was pointed out it was the only way to get a wife without paying for her.

[587] In these districts, if the widow is sold, the bride-price is shared by her husband's family and her father's.

595 A man at Nikaj came to see me who was excommunicate for having
577 two wives—a legitimate wife and the widow of his cousin. He told me
688 he could not possibly put her away because it would be a disgrace to do so. She must stay in the house because she had young children to bring up, and so long as she is in the house he must cohabit with her, for she cannot have another husband. He was unhappy about the excommunication—but one must do one's duty and take the risk.

587 It is perhaps noteworthy that in the districts where this custom
144 is firmly rooted there are no Slavonic place-names and no appearance
103 of any Slavonic blood. The people are all in stature shorter and smaller built than the Maltsia e Madhe people. They are almost all dark-eyed—dark-brown to hazel—and dark-haired. The skull is short, but is round at the back and has not the characteristic flat back of the folk farther north. The hair grows very low on the forehead, especially on the temples, where sometimes it almost unites by a thin line of hair with the outer end of the eyebrow. The eyebrows often nearly meet in the middle. The nose is short and straight. The moustache is sparse and straggly. The beard, such as is seen after a fortnight without shaving, often sparse or patchy.

587 The custom of the levirate may therefore belong to the small,
174 dark, pre-Slavonic people.

The purpose of the levirate in other lands is often said to be to raise up children who are to rank as those of the deceased. Though this may have been the reason in the above-mentioned case of the man who took the very recently married widow of his brother, in the great majority of cases in Albania it is not so; for the widow with sons is the one who has the right to remain, and in fact must remain, in the family house; and therefore it is she who is most frequently the levirate wife. In this matter Albanian custom seems to differ from that in other lands where the levirate is practised.

4. Rights of Husband over Wife

562 No one may beat a woman but her father or her husband. In the mountains a husband had the right to beat his wife if he told her three
593 times to do, or not to do, a thing, and she disobeyed each time. If he
681 orders her not to reply and she does so he may beat her. Even some

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

583 184 principal inhabitants of Orosh have all been acquired in this way, and far from resenting or being ashamed of the circumstance, they are, on the contrary, proud of it, and their relatives accept the situation on payment of the usual dowry. And although they may not embrace with enthusiasm the faith into which they are generally baptised as a preliminary to marriage, they scrupulously observe its external forms, are much devoted to their husbands, proud of their reputation, and jealous of their honour, which, should occasion require, they are ready either to defend or avenge.

428 611 Among these exogamous tribes, succession is, as a rule, in the male line. If, however, there are no surviving sons, and a daughter chooses to remain single, she may enjoy the usufruct of her father's property, which on her death reverts to her nearest male relatives. If a man die childless his property is divided among his male relatives, who pay to his widow a pension, she remaining in his house or returning to her friends as she pleases, and retaining all that she has received from her parents either before or after her marriage.

567 428 As with the Osmanlis, the children by slaves of Moslem Albanians have an equal right with those of free mothers to succeed to the estate of their father.[1]

587 If the deceased husband has an unmarried brother, the latter has a right to marry the widow with or without her consent. On the wedding-day she receives from him the present of an ox, or its equivalent, four goats.

[1] The father of Ali Pasha, of Ioannina, was the son of a slave.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

If, however, she returns home and marries into another family, her father pays to her first husband's heirs, or to her son if she have one, half the dowry promised at her second betrothal. With the exception of her deceased husband's brother, a woman may not re-marry in the same village without the consent of his relatives. In the mountains of Pulati this is never given, and a vendetta follows if it is dispensed with. If the betrothed man die, his brother has also the right to marry the betrothed maiden, but must pay to her parents, in addition to the dowry already promised, a hundred and fifty piastres.

An Albanian has the right to beat his wife if she misconducts herself, but this right is little exercised except among the Liaps, who are the rudest and most brutal of all Albanians. He must, however, be careful not to draw blood even in the most trifling degree, for, if a wife receives a mere scratch in the course of a castigation, she complains to her parents, who cite the husband before the authorities. The penalty consists chiefly in the payment of a considerable fine, which becomes the private property of the woman abused.

Divorce is not uncommon among the Moslem Albanians, who follow in this respect the customs of the Ottomans, the husband paying to the discarded wife the sum specified in the marriage contract in view of such a contingency. The divorce generally takes place at the instance of the husband, but the wife may also claim it for a limited number of reasons. If, for instance, a man has left his native town or village, and does not return within the period fixed by the

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

the forgiveness" of the departed, and sing funeral songs in his honour.

When, as often happens, a man dies at a distance from his home, on the arrival of the tidings of his death, the funeral ceremonies are, with the exception of the actual interment, performed as above described. The women lament, friends hasten to comfort them, and the procession goes to church, the place of the bier being occupied by a youth, who carries the dish of *Kólyva*, on which is placed a cake for the priest.

Only slight changes are generally made in their dress by the Albanian women on the death of a relative. The chief mourners cut their hair short, turn their coats inside out, so that the fur lining alone is seen, and lay aside all ornaments. The nieces of the deceased allow their hair to hang loose for some months, or cut off a lock, and wear on their heads a black kerchief. A similar head-dress is assumed by the widow, who, if she has arrived at middle age, wears it for the rest of her life. If, however, she is still young, and intends to return to her father's house with the expectation of finding another husband, she wears at the same time her bridal apparel, and does not manifest such an exaggerated degree of grief.

Sometimes, as illustrated in the history of Shainitza[1] and in folk-tale,[2] the grief of the women finds expression in giving to their dwelling the most dismal and funereal appearance, by painting black either the whole of the outside of the house, or the shutters only, and covering up or removing from their usual places the mirrors and other ornaments.

[1] See p. 225. [2] P. 315.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

CHAPTER XXI

MURDER WITHIN THE FAMILY

682 627 596 When a man murdered his son, father, brother, paternal uncle, paternal uncle's son, or brother's son, the usual verdict was that in killing so near a relative the murderer had 'killed himself'. The victim's blood was therefore lost, 'no one sought-to-avenge him', and it had only been his 'ill-luck' so to die.

From another point of view it might be argued that since the murderer was the victim's nearest relative, other relatives could not act over his head and avenge the dead man. For example, when a man murdered his paternal uncle, if the latter left neither son nor brother, his blood was lost, for the murderer was his nearest relative and by killing him had only killed himself. On the other hand, if the uncle left either a son or a brother, that son or brother was nearer to him than the murderer and avenged his death. In view of his relationship to the criminal his vengeance generally took the form of exacting blood money. In the same way when a man murdered his brother's son, the victim's blood was lost if he left neither father nor brother. But if he left either, the murderer had to pay blood money. The rule of the nearest relative failed only if one brother killed another while their father was alive. Though the father was the nearest relative of the victim, the fratricide being only a neighbour by comparison, the victim's blood was lost. The father could not avenge him except by killing his surviving son, and even from the best of motives no decent father would kill a son.

[672] The motive of the murderer seldom affected the situation. The murder of a son, an extremely rare occurrence, was oftenest due [584] to his adultery with his young stepmother. His blood was lost, not because of his sin, but solely because the father who murdered him [587] was his nearest relative. Again, one brother sometimes fell in love with the other's wife, and knowing, especially in north Albania, [60] that if she became a widow he could by customary law marry her, could not always resist the temptation to make her a widow. The [558] victim's blood was lost in spite of the murderer's motive, and the fratricide married the widow and suffered no disability except some loss of face.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

This custom of the wife's brother giving a cartridge to a husband who had murdered his erring wife explains the phrase often heard in Albania, 'a bride with a cartridge on her back'. In Martanesh it was an old, but long disused, custom to tie a cartridge on the back of a bride's veil as she left her father's house; this cartridge she was to give to her husband on her wedding night, and he would keep it against the day when he found her unfaithful and then kill her with it. This custom, if it existed elsewhere, has been forgotten, but the phrase is universally known.

In Lumë, if a husband suspected his wife of illicit love-making, he could not tell her people because he was being disgraced. He could only lie in wait till he caught the pair together and then kill them. Sometimes when he could not catch them together, he divorced her; in one instance a man did so on the insistence of his kinsmen, who thought themselves as well as the husband disgraced by the wife's notoriously loose living. He admitted that he could not manage her, divorced her for the sake of the family honour, and then, being too poor to pay the bride-price of another wife, lived alone. Divorcing the wife also ensured that the husband ran no risk of having a feud with either her brother or her lover's family. The Highlanders held similar views—the husband could not question his wife or tell her lover not to come to the house; he could again do nothing but lie in wait until he caught them. A few Highlanders held that the husband might inform her people of her misconduct; if they believed him, they would say, 'Kill her', or perhaps kill her themselves; in either case her death went unavenged. They preferred to kill such a wife for they were Catholics in the main, and as such could not remarry if they divorced their wife. As it was permissible in Martanesh to kill the guilty pair separately, an adulterous wife was never divorced but always killed. If a woman was divorced in Mat, her brother always asked what wrong she had done; if she had been an adulteress, he killed her, provided that the husband first killed the lover. In north-east Albania, if the lover was the husband's brother, divorce was thought the easiest way out. Only an exceptionally brutal man would kill his brother; the average man would prefer to say to his wife, 'You have committed this sin, and are divorced'.

If the husband killed only his wife, her brother avenged her death in most cases; without seeing his sister dead by her lover's side he was unwilling to believe in her guilt and apt to think the husband

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

This want of restrictions may be attributed, partly to the smaller emphasis which south Albanians lay on descent in the male line, partly to the greater store which, probably under Greek influence, they set on relationships in general. North Albanians, when sent to work in south Albania, always expressed lively astonishment when they found, for instance, a southerner claiming as a relative a man who was only the brother of his wife's brother.

It occasionally happens that a young widow with a son remarried in another family, who probably lived in another village or even district, and had a son by her second husband. Almost without exception the son by her first husband remained with his father's family, so that the two boys grew up apart. Even if the first son accompanied his mother on her remarriage, he had at an early age to return to his father's family. There never was any doubt that the two boys belonged to different households. They recognized each other as brothers, however, and if one was killed, the other had as much right as a full brother on the father's side to avenge him. But if either wished to avenge another male in the other's household, he could only do so by joining an expedition led by the master of that household; he could not do so independently, for except to his half-brother he was an outsider.

'Women do not have rifles' ran the Kanùn. As a corollary 'Women do not have blood feuds', it continued. One result of these Kanùns was that women could not properly avenge their murdered relatives. It was also recognized that they were generally too timorous to do so. A few 'strong characters', however, had been known to lay aside their feminine fears and to kill an enemy. Thus the virgin Emin of Orenjë in Çermenikë avenged her father. When he was killed she was still in the cradle and as she grew up she became aware that her four cousins, the only males left in the family, did not show too much zeal in avenging him. When she was fifteen, she secretly bought a rifle and, seeing the enemy one day come within range of the windows of her home, she fired at him and killed him with the third shot. Then her cousins were trebly annoyed. She, a woman, had proved herself their superior in courage; for her crime one of their lives was forfeit; and they had hoped to compound the feud without further bloodshed, a hope she had destroyed. In fact, she had embittered the feud by putting the enemy to the shame of losing a relative at a woman's hands. Again, a woman from Tërbaç, near Elbasan, hearing that her son

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

APPENDIX

LAWS PASSED AT GENERAL ASSEMBLIES

(TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL ALBANIAN)

I. Some Laws Ratified by the Prefecture of Shkodër.

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, pp. 128–9.)

1. Bride-price is not to be altered. The amount fixed seven years ago remains in force. It is, therefore, 600 grosh, a sum which includes everything. Whoever acts contrary to this order will be fined 1000 grosh.

2. Girls will be betrothed by their father, or if they have no father by their brother and, failing him, by their nearest male cousin. Women are not to interfere in betrothals.

3. Every betrothal will be arranged openly not secretly, and there will be a go-between as witness. When the betrothal has been completed and rifles have been fired off in front of the betrothed girl's house, the men who have the right to betroth her will go to the parish priest in order to register the names of the betrothed pair, the registrar and the witnesses, together with all the circumstances. Whosoever does not abide by this decree will be fined 1000 grosh.

4. Whoever refuses to go through the marriage ceremony when the priest comes for that purpose will be fined 1000 grosh.

5. Whoever incites a married woman to run away will be fined eight purses.

6. Whoever gives a bride to a man who has divorced his lawfully wedded wife will be fined 1000 grosh.

7. Whoever shall dare to send away his lawfully wedded wife in order to take another woman in unlawful wedlock will be fined 1000 grosh.

8. Whoever sells his daughter or sister or other female of his blood relations will be fined, like the buyer, 1000 grosh.

9. On the basis of the ancient customs, which are still observed among the Christians of the mountains of Shkodër concerning betrothals, marriages, enticing of other men's wives, running away of wives and other similar causes of trouble, some laws have been enacted for the repression of the aforesaid evil acts and have been approved by His Lordship the Archbishop of Shkodër, Mgr Luigi Çurçi, and by the r. ountain chiefs. These laws after being weighed by the Government Council have been approved and ordered to be put into execution.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5

as one hears daily." Some writers have ascribed this to "Turkish influence." But as the custom of the Levirate was common all through the neighbouring Albanian tribes and many of the Montenegrin tribes are of Albanian stock, it is highly probable that at least some of these extra wives were levirate. The custom of the djeveri sleeping with the bride before she is given to the bridegroom suggests that they stand in a peculiar relationship to her. In Albania the widow can be taken by the eldest male relative of her deceased husband—barring his father. In Montenegro the djeveri as a rule were the bridegroom's next brother and his uncle. In the old ballads we very frequently find the wife appealing to her djever brother-in-law as one whose special duty it is to help and protect her.

Among the oldest ballads in the Karadjitch Collection are two versions of the same theme—the punishment inflicted upon a criminal land by the Virgin Mary and the Saints. In the first version the land is India; in the second it is Syrmia. In both the crimes are similar: "An accursed land where God's religion is not; where they do not pray God's help; where children obey not their parents; where the younger obey not the elders; where kum (sponsor) does not keep faith with kum; *where the djever works shame to his sister-in-law;* where brother drives brother before the judges and inflicts penalties on him before the Turks; where they do not celebrate the saints, nor burn candles in the churches, nor read God's liturgy." The saints burnt up the land first, and then St. Sava buried it in snow, and finally the population returned to the paths of virtue and were pardoned. This curious tale sounds like a reminiscence of the struggle of the Church against pagan practices. The reference to the sin of the djever is noteworthy.

6. Divorce

In Montenegro, when I was there, divorce was according to the rules of the Orthodox Church, and more easily obtained by men than by women.

But within living memory a local form of divorce had existed. Against this Prince Danilo legislated in 1855 in Law 67: "Divorces between man and wife, so frequent in our land, are forbidden, except in the cases permitted by our Holy Church owing to the faults or impediments of husband or wife."

When neither party to the marriage had any choice in it, it is not surprising that ill-matched couples should have wished to part so soon as possible. Local usage forced them to marry; but local usage permitted divorce. Vladika Petar I is said to have favoured and per-

589 her alive. It is doubtful if this punishment has been exacted on any such person within the last few generations.

As the reader can readily see, this custom has its economic aspects. The number of hands available for men's work is increased by two, that for women's work decreased by the same number. There is a second and less dramatic reason for a girl to swear virginity: if her father has no sons to help him with his work, or if his sons are killed. Then a daughter may step into the position of a son, and the [428] situation is momentarily saved. However, since the pseudo-son will have no offspring, the line will become extinct with her death, and the property pass to the next of kin on the father's side. This custom is at variance with the usual one in comparable societies, in which the husband of the man's daughter comes to live with her parents, and is adopted as an [611] heir. So strong is the belief in the continuity of the male line that this could not be done in Ghegnia.

On my travels I encountered only 2 sworn virgins. One wore men's clothes, and appeared to be either mentally defective or at least "queer." That also was her reputation. The second wore women's clothes. She was in her early twenties, and quite attractive. Since she spent the night with a junior member of my group of horse-drivers, I formed a poor opinion of the burning-alive theory. It is quite apparent that the practice of swearing virginity is not only often economic in motivation, but also a part of the whole business of local population control, along with the entire configuration of pride, insult, and feuding.

• 587 Two other mechanisms help maintain the personnel of the family at the optimum numerical working level, and to prevent the isolation of separate individuals or small, uneconomic groups. One is the levirate. Classically this means that when a man dies, his widow will be married to a surviving brother [165] or next of kin if such a brother is lacking. In a country where the rate of death by violence reaches the level of 40 per cent of all male [582] deaths in some localities, and where girls are married at 14 or 15, many are widowed.

Such a widow must be cared for by the men of her husband's family, since they have paid

587 for her and she has joined their group. If there is a surviving brother who is single, obviously the expedient thing to do is to give her to him. She might even be given to a first cousin. However, the occasion sometimes arises in Ghegnia where the classical form of the levirate is indicated, and a brother, preferably an older brother, of the deceased, a man who is already married, takes the widow into his household. In Moslem communities this causes no ecclesiastical difficulty. In Catholic households it may bring about a conflict with the priest. In such a case the Law of Lek wins over the Law of Rome. Societal needs are stronger than religious taboos. The new husband may not be allowed a church marriage, and it is possible that he may not consummate the new union, but the woman enters his household, and he cares for her and her children.

595 The second mechanism is polygyny, in case the first wife fails to produce male offspring. This again is perfectly legal among Moslems and diametrically counter to Catholic rules. The priest will not allow the husband to divorce his wife who fails to give him sons. If she gives him daughters there is always hope that a son will follow, and the crisis may be delayed. But if after a suitable time there are no offspring whatever, he will need a new wife. He cannot divorce his old one, and he cannot legally marry his new one. Here again custom sometimes wins. I personally have visited only one household of Catholic Ghegs in which I knew that the master had 2 wives, and it was for this reason. It is little wonder, since Catholicism fits so imperfectly the economic needs of the Albanian family, that many of them went over to the much more satisfactory (in this respect) faith of Islam.

125 In making up the form of our measurement blanks before the expedition, Dr. Hooton and I allotted spaces for the notation of the following vital statistics: number of wives married by subject's father, and number of children of each sex born to each wife. We chose the subject's father rather than the man himself because we would thus be dealing with complete or nearly complete families. In every case we received specific answers; very few men, whose fathers had had 3 or 4 wives, could

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XI

S A 184 586 563 Customs among the Moslems vary in different districts, and with different races; as for example, the Bosnians and the Albanians of Metohija. In villages near Peć a man can divorce his wife; but the wife may only run away. If she does she cannot remarry. In Turkish days the man could kill an offending wife; this extreme measure is now forbidden to him. In some parts of Bosnia, however, wives and husbands have equal rights of divorce, though in the Travnik villages only the man can divorce, especially if there is no child. In case of death, a husband can remarry the day after if he likes; a woman must wait at least three [587] months.

A 586 When a Bosnian couple decide on divorce, both must go before the *šerijakski sud*, in which court they had deposited a signed document at their marriage. As soon as the marriage papers have been discovered, the divorce is granted. The process may take two hours, eight days, or an indefinite period. Divorce costs nothing if the wife comes before the court of her own free will.

A 58 563 Albanian girls in Metohija are sometimes betrothed at birth, or at the end of their first year; and are usually married at fourteen or fifteen. The bridegroom is usually at least seventeen. But sometimes a betrothal lasts for years, until the bride-price has been collected. In Streoc, a village near Peć, a bride cost anything up to 10,000 dinars: after the crisis in 1931 her price fell to 5000 dinars.

S 595 563 S 587 563 Most of the Moslems I met had one wife. None but the rich, they said, could afford more than one, in Jugoslavia as elsewhere. Only in Bosnia did I find husbands with two wives, though one Moslem peasant, Šaban Lepi, living in a Travnik village, had considerably excelled Henry VIII in the number of his wives; he had nine—in succession. This experienced husband was a poor man in patched clothes, about fifty, with a ragged grey beard, who, when I saw him, was living with his ninth wife, Rasija, in a cottage of one room, with a wooden floor, and a kitchen with a mud floor. His first wife, Zuleha, during thirteen